Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- patemá. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototé -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is [415] boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently [413] it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which [415] is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [824] out of the leaves of the açaf palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only 438 the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epená -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

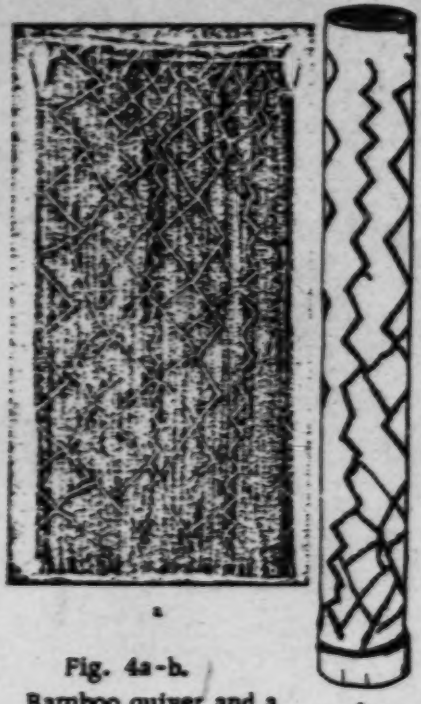
Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few speciments and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b. Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hîmo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]
[412]
854
[171]
[184]
[114]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuſ -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimſ -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxfke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehfk -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). *Among the Xiriâna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to*

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192]

These vessels in general are called -- horotokâ --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotofma.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waiká
Karimé

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupuña palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapõga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/ 11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[239] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

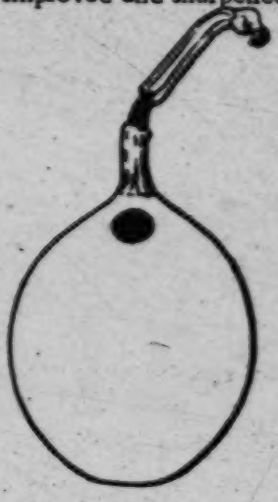


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

Suráŋa
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[171]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the
• [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[137]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carâ, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or
252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the
412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

264
262 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usually only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes. I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat
[824] supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from
• [415] the wooden spit or roasting rack. Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

[251] If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is
[267] astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

/89 cont./

276
122

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

276
[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tóra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâra. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surâra, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

276
171
[184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waiká, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tupari (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]

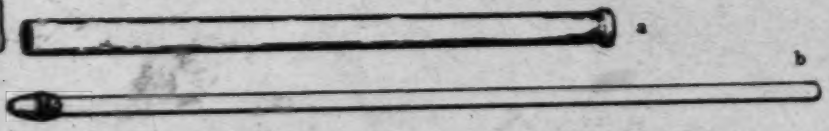


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

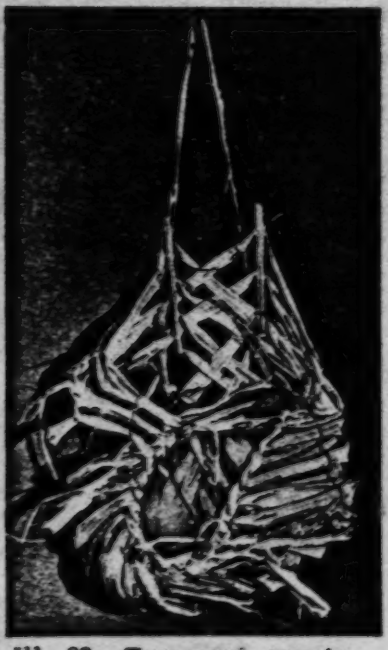
[114]

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

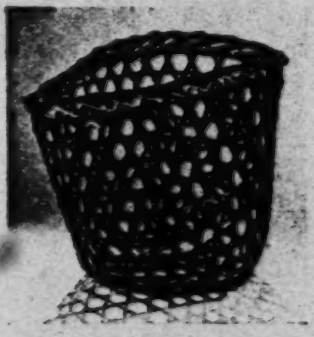
2: Becher--276 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/11/

Surára
Pakidái



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



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Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curáuá plant

531

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

142
302
516
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Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
276

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

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342
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Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 ● 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415] [372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But Solitaun, who was a sensible old fellow and worldly

wise, picked them and put them in a 'bag' like a big open calyx made of leaves. This chestnut is encased in a green rind, soft and spongy. He tore this off with his teeth and spat it out. The actual nut was no bigger than a billiard ball, and this he stowed away in his bag. In the evening, round a fire whose glowing ash was neatly raked to form a series of little ovens, the expatriate Samatari roasted his chestnuts, scooping them out with his bare hand when they were done. He even offered them round, if somewhat parsimoniously: the ratio was three for him and one for us.

To us, who still had our own sense of the fitness of things, it hardly seemed possible at first that humble berries and fruits of such unimpressive appearance could be of such highly nutritive value. We turned therefore to the fruit that had most eye-appeal—the ones the Indians scarcely bothered with as they went along and did not consider worth collecting for the meal at nightfall. By the Aracosa river cashew trees were plentiful, their fruits red as fire, and there was another species we hadn't seen before, orange in colour and enormous. Some of the fruits that had fallen with the weight of their ripe juice were the size of a man's fist, and to eat three or four of them gave a pleasant sense of well-being, even if it didn't last long.

The great trees must have been bearing a crop of thousands of pounds in weight, because all around the forest floor was glowing with fallen fruit and clouds of buzzing insects of every colour were busy glorifying the decay as they settled on it.

But when we had devoured our comforting quantities of these cashew fruits, some of them already over-ripe, there was a roughness on our teeth and we began to feel sick. It was now that we were ready to appreciate the wisdom of these primitive people, who left the florid purple fruits severely alone, to bury their sharp teeth in more modest-looking fare that was a good deal kinder to the human stomach.

No one can know the thrill of excitement that comes to the Samatari—and other Indians too—when they find themselves underneath a big *kelpoes* tree that brushes the waters of some little stream with the mass of its seed pods, long and round like those of the senna tree. Many such pods are used exactly like the ordinary French or kidney beans, but for this particular delicacy it is neither the bean nor the pod itself that is eaten, but the white tender pulp in which the beans are set. We ourselves found it far too sweet and sickly. But in spite of all the excitement here, we had still not come to the fruit which was thought

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 765 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, although they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/464 cont./

411 The children make small bows, generally for their games, but
857 they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These
[824] bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm.
The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used
[226] by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278 A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika
[226] /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a
[415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

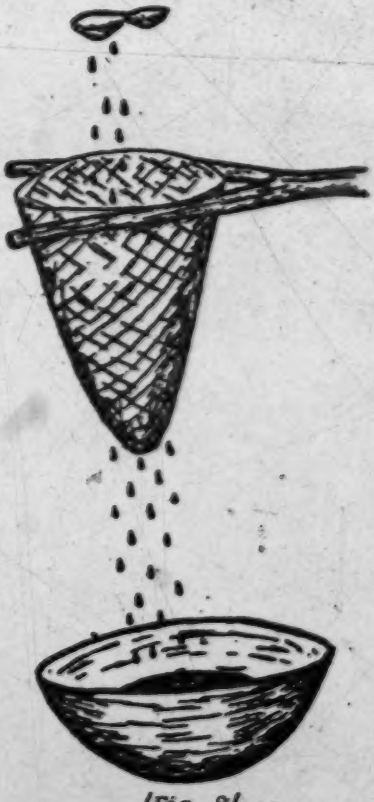
/465 cont./

278 [415] /466/ is poured, a few drops at a time. The liquid which seeps through is collected in a totuma. Fig. 8 shows the procedure.

Several fires are lighted around, and after a short time the firewood is scattered so that there will be no flames, but only burning embers.

278 411 Then the sets of arrowheads which are to be poisoned are stuck into bundles made of leaves and placed in such a way that the points remain over the embers. The poisonous liquid is then smeared on the points, in small quantities each time, drying immediately. All the poison is smeared on the points on the day it is prepared. The accompanying Fig. 9 /see p. 37/ shows the procedure. /Fig. 9 appears here./

278 415



/Fig. 8/

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

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●415

The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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516
302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

352
415
142
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439
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TOP: Women of the "Plateau". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and [illegible]. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of [illegible]—not even a raft. He told us that the

villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yanomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yanomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having [illegible] them to motivate me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [535] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [333] [458] [555] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

• 415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [473] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [482] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [447] manufacture of cassava bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

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[1]The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

415 323 179 [439] [438] clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware supplied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in 301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are 237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers [304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored 302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common [64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to [59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and [304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners [301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

[P. xvii]

142
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304
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Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while caring a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

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Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamo-teri man shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

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layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yanomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

Fig. 2-2. Woman fishing in a downed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2–3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *biiroma*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

• 415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

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[172] [8]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

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Fig. 4-1. Kaobawä, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[8]

The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[9] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

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[8] Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[9] The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruuhe* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *ruuhe* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruuhe*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruuhe* is no more necessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruuhe* fruit. *Ruuhe* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruuhe* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur: the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *to mashia*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2 Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree. arapuri.

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